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FILE
COPY

The American Creed—

Equality of Opportunity

Edgar W. Ray

I WAS born and have always lived in the South . . . The South is that great area of our land called by the late President Roosevelt, "The Nation's No. 1 Economic Problem." I have shared its relative poverty, have been caught in its emotions and prejudices, have felt its frustrations and have seen it exploited — comparatively young though I am.

"Equality of Opportunity" does not exist in the South except for a relative few, who by reason of the accident of birth or long connections with outside economic interests, do not need a fair opportunity in order to live in liberty, equality and justice.

I say that it does not exist for the mass of white Southerners. I say that it does not exist for the mass of Negro Southerners. Both are victims of time and history, of false theories and doctrines easily planted long ago, of hate and prejudice, but, most of all, of greed mixed with political madness which the majority too often inflicts upon the minority.

A hundred years ago the white South was rich in land and slave labor. But its economic and social system was so contrary to the laws of God that it had to fall 81 years ago. There followed a plague — a plague that could have been ended in a few years with the right kind of doctors and the right kind of medicine, but the will to cure was not strong enough with those able to do the job, because the fees of greed were more important than human beings.

Economic Servitude

That plague was the deliberate forcing of the South into economic servitude by the politicians of the East. They planned an economy for the belligerent upstart that would keep it in virtual colonial status, poor and unable to develop its own resources. You know the pattern, for it is in practice in other parts of the world today. It called for draining of natural resources at cheap prices and the development of them elsewhere into manufactured products at high prices — to the advantage of all except those who owned the land, the real source of the wealth.

Destitute at the end of a bitter war, the South could only accept the fate the unthinking politicians decreed for it. Raw materials had to be sold for almost any price as long as it would insure enough money to hold body and soul together.

In pointing out this historical fact, I do not wish you to get the idea that I am starting out on the course of a so-called "unreconstructed rebel." I

Edgar W. Ray, Managing Editor of the Tampa Times, is chairman of the Florida Division of The Southern Regional Council. This article is extracted from an address delivered at the National Urban League Conference in St. Louis.

have no sympathy with those who prate about the glories and mores of the Old South — or the New South, for that matter, for there was and is much in them that is inglorious and moronic.

But an historical fact often can be the clue to the reason for conditions many years later, and I would be amiss in this discussion if I did not point to the truth.

In the dark days gone by, those who suffered even more from politically-decreed relative poverty than white Southerners were Negroes, for whose freedom a Nation was torn apart. They had no education. They had no land. From the time they had been forced onto the shores of America, they had not been masters of their fate. They had been and still were — and still are — the pawns of white greed and political chicanery.

The conquered peoples of Europe and Asia today are far better off than were Southerners 81 years ago. We hear our national leaders talk of holding this conquered nation or that in economic shackles for as long as 20 years. So consider, if you will, the position of the South for four times that long!

Fruits of Poverty

What am I saying? It is simply this: More than three-quarters of a century of deliberate economic discrimination and exploitation of the South by the East and later the Midwest not only has kept it poverty-stricken, compared with the rest of the Nation, but has fostered the inevitable results of poverty — hate, greed, prejudice, discrimination, and exploitation of human beings and the resources surrounding them.

Booker T. Washington's observation that a Southern white man could not keep his Negro neighbor in a ditch without staying there with him has proved true. I have been trying to point out how the ditch came about in the first place — that dug by politicians at the constant urging of the entrenched economic interests.

This planned colonial economy for the South is still in effect in a large measure, although there are many courageous Southerners who have tried to do something about it.

I must confess that ignorance prevailing in the South over too many years has caused many foolish theories—such as the one-party idea, right or wrong. It is too true that Democrats don't care much about the South because they know they have it in the bag and Republicans don't worry about it because snipe hunting is wearisome and irritating. The result of such a situation is too obvious to discuss.

Crumbs from the Table

The average wage in the South for 1939 was $760 compared to the national average of $1150. The only way that the Southern level can be lifted permanently is through industrialization, a natural partner of agriculture. But this partner has been denied the South time and again by politically-imposed inequities, such as freight rates and an unfair division of public monies, and financial control of the Nation in the more populous East.

Why is it that the governors of Eastern and Northern States are fighting in the courts the long-overdue order of the Interstate Commerce Commission to equalize freight rates, a key to industrialization? Why is it that these governors are trying to counteract the excellent and factual studies made by the Southern Governors' Conference which resulted in the ICC decision last year?

They know that, given a chance to compete industrially, the South no longer will be the "Nation's No. 1 Economical Problem" but the "Nation's No. 1 Economic Opportunity." That frightens them.

Even during World War II the Nation saw deliberate discrimination against the South continued by politicians in Washington who gave their ears first to giant industrial interests. A few Government-sponsored industrial plants were built in the South, but they represented only crumbs

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Vocational Schools for Veterans

By George S. Mitchell
Director Veterans' Service Division
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

EVERYONE here is familiar with Booker Washington's story about "cast down your bucket where you are." It seems to me to fit an important phase of Southern education today. We have most of us been planning for the day of Federal aid to education. I suggest that Federal aid is here, and that it requires little more than farsightedness and energetic administration for us to avail ourselves of it.

The thirteen Southern states have well over three million veterans of World War II. Two and a half million are white and six hundred and fifty thousand are Negro. On the average, these men and women are entitled to three years and more of education mainly at the expense of the Federal Government. If we aim at a goal no higher than the manageable one of getting a full third of the veterans to take two years of institutional training, the available benefit in terms of money is startlingly large. Allowing a figure of four hundred dollars a year for tuition payments, and an average subsistence allowance of about eighty dollars a month for twelve months, the Southern states would receive from the Federal Government for educational purposes in two years about three billion dollars. The tuition end of it would be 666 million dollars for whites and 175 million dollars for Negroes.

To get the figures into terms of a single state let's try South Carolina. If we aim for the same goal there—two years' full-time institutional training for one-third of the veterans—the problem is to provide institutional facilities for thirty-three thousand white veterans and seventeen thousand Negro veterans. The tuition payments available would be at least forty million dollars and the subsistence would run to a hundred million. Tuition payments would be over twenty-six million for white schools and over thirteen million for Negro schools.

This discussion of vocational schools in the South was delivered by Dr. Mitchell at a meeting of the Southern Regional Council of Chief State School Officers in Edgewater Park, Miss.

The Non-College Veteran

Thus far, the public has thought of the GI educational benefit mainly in terms of college-level training. Yet the great bulk of the veterans stopped school in the later grammar grades or early High School years, and among the Negro veterans I believe the general level would be between the fourth and eighth grades. I should be greatly surprised if, the South over, in four or five years time, as much as twelve percent of the veterans had taken even one year of college work.

It is true that other programs are available for the men who will not go to college. Each state has been generous in contrivance to aid the men in completing high school work. Apprenticeship training is available to a fortunate few (almost entirely white, by the way), and on-the-job training and on-the-farm training are continuing to grow in the number reached and in the quality of the teaching achieved.

The Southern officials working on veterans education with whom I have talked are pretty well in agreement that a very large part of the veterans want practical instruction

such as will fit them in a year or two's time to hold jobs paying clerical or skilled or semi-skilled rates. They have lost several years out of their normal lives, and they wish now to equip themselves as quickly as possible to carry civilian responsibilities.

This is one reason why job-training and farm-training have been so popular; and it fits in with this urge that these programs offer good total income while the men take the training. Yet few here are satisfied that a really sound educational process is being applied through job-training to more than a small part of the veterans. Job-training is particularly deficient for the Negro veterans, because comparatively few of them can get it at all, and of those who do too many are in establishments where the quality of the instruction cannot be high.

More Vocational Schools

I urge more full-time vocational schools of secondary level as the answer. True, the men will miss the higher earnings of job training, and this will cut down the number of applicants for institutional trade training. But it is always possible that Congress will up the subsistence pay (as it will undoubtedly be under pressure to do soon) and at the first appearance of general unemployment the trade school offering will gain in attractiveness. Of course, in order to get the men in we should have to offer training of a high type, and we should have to offer it in a geographical distribution that will put schools within reasonably easy reach of the home towns of most of the veterans.

The South has a pressing need for schools of this kind now and in the near future. We are about to be put into a scissor-process, with industrialization proceeding apace in the very decade in which mechanization of agriculture threatens to be intense. The evidence is all around us that industry continues to grow in the South, expands into parts of it hitherto not much reached, and constantly opens new lines of work. If industrialization continues, as we all suppose it will, the new factories will be demanding in volume people trained to do the technical, exact, and responsible machine-tending jobs of modern industry and trade. Thus industrialization will suck over and pick the South for industrial skills.

Trends in Southern Labor

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics is authority for the prediction that under conditions of full employment the number of people working on Southern farms will by 1956 probably have dropped 1,600,000 as against the 1940 figure. Some of this shrinkage has occurred in the war period, but much of it has yet to come as mechanization proceeds in sugar cane and rice and tobacco and most of all in cotton.

Many people are casting about for measures that will cushion this shift from agriculture into town employment. Some interesting remedies have been proposed, but my guess is that in the end the committees and commissions will come out with the recommendation that the problem is largely one to be taken on by the educational forces of the South. I do not see what the educational forces of the South can do that would be of more help on this problem than to dot the Southern states with trade schools. If we can teach the youngsters how to handle the machinery with whose aid their livings must be made in the coming period, whether the machines be in towns or on the farms, we shall clearly have saved ourselves a lot of misery, poverty, and inefficiency, possibly some violence and, almost certainly, a great deal of tax money.

Now this process of dotting the South with trade schools is going on rapidly beneath our very eyes. In our larger cities, in many good-sized towns, and occasionally in some quite unexpected county seat, a brand new or a much enlarged full-time trade training school has recently been put into operation.

Usually all but a very few of the students are veterans of World War II. The veterans are drawing subsistence and the school authorities are receiving tuition directly or indirectly from the Veterans Administration. Most of these schools are public schools. One of their virtues is the fact that they have sprung out of public local demand. So far as the Negro trade schools are concerned, most of them represent a quite special gain in this regard; local citizens, Negro and white, perceiving the rot involved in leaving ambitious and partly-trained men as standing members of the "52-20 Club," have brought their influence to bear on public school officials, and have gotten classes going in this or that, which begin to meet the needs of eighteen or thirty-five or a hundred and seventy-five Negro veterans. Many of these new schools are not yet doing really good work, but they are healthy, local beginnings, and they can become key features of the future economy of the South.

Interracial Adjustment

Incidentally, it can be argued that the opening of trade schools of this kind is an important contribution to interracial adjustment. When we seek the causes of jealousy between the races it is quite as urgent to look into the minds of the Negroes as of the whites. If for a good big share of the Negro veterans the ambitions which they cherished during years of war can be satisfied with opportunity, we shall have done a lot to replace bitterness with confidence that energy and industry and honorable conduct can win security and respect. Thus far, I do not think it can be claimed that in any field of veterans educational benefits other than college training, Southern communities have done much to build that confidence. We have fallen down on on-the-job training and on apprentice training, and we have not done nearly enough with on-the-farm-training. We have fallen down badly in public administration and in private business in finding for the Negro veterans jobs of the kind that use their present highest skills and offer growth for the future. It is true that high school education is still open, but that is not what the men want. This other can be tailormade to their needs. Through such schools, if they be adequate in number and in quality, we still have the opportunity to see to it that the cream of this generation's youth, the young men who will set the character of our public life for many years to come, are assured that their home communities worked wisely for their benefit and gave them the knowledge on which they could base security and independence.

What's Being Done

What we have done thus far is most uneven in quality. In order to get some idea of what is being done the Southern Regional Council engaged a man highly recommended as an expert on vocational schools to travel to four or five selected schools and report on their work. In each instance he went with the blessing of appropriate state school officials and was courteously received by the local principals. Here is a compressed account of the schools he visited.

School A. An industrial city in the Lower South. White school has 150 veterans, Negro school has 188. Of the four buildings, three are quite unsuitable and are fire-traps. The one good building houses shops for white veterans. In only two minor trades do the space and light permit the practice of good work habits. Training and experience of the teachers for both groups of veterans is excellent. Quality of teaching good, despite the handicap of makeshift workshops. Relations with organized labor good. School graduates in several of the leading trades readily find work at union scale wages. Ten trades available for whites, including plumbing, refrigeration, watch-repairing, and air-conditioning. Six trades available for colored, of which veterans are entered in only

four, namely, bricklaying, tailoring, auto-repair, and shoe-repair. This school has a much larger non-veteran enrollment. An integral part of the city school system.

School B. Seven miles out from a cotton-market town. Last two-and-a-half miles mud. The buildings are those of a former war camp. School is privately owned and managed. Space adequate, buildings all right. Layout of machinery and equipment excellent. Enrollment 360 Negro veterans. No whites. School set out to train Negro veterans mainly for work in mechanized plantation agriculture. Remarkably complete set of new farm machinery installed. Courses offered in farm mechanics, automobile mechanics, and in the building trades, farm equipment, and in reading, language, arts, and arithmetic. In most subjects a long course is available for those with fifth-grade education or lower and a shorter course for those with sixth-grade and up. Courses vary between 34 weeks and 136 weeks. Separate well-equipped shops for work with diesel engines, auto repair, welding, farm equipment, automotive electrical, housewiring, building, and general education. All white teachers, well trained and fully experienced. Absentee rate practically nil.

School C. An industrial city in the Upper South. Fifty Negro veterans. The men are first put through eight or nine months of mechanical instruction and then given a finishing course in automobile repairs. One building old and small, another adequate, both fire-traps. Equipment poor and much of it in disrepair. Shops dirty, littered with refuse and grease. Teachers inexperienced. An integral part of the public school system. I will give quotes from the report of our visitor:

"One of the trainees was trying to machine a small shaft, a half-inch in diameter and twelve inches between centers, without any support rest. The tool he was using was ground at the wrong angle and had incorrectly-placed tool-holder. On questioning him, I found he had had no instruction on the working of the lathe, even though he had been here three months. . . .

"I found cars within five feet of open, live stove. Trainees were welding on rear of a car near the gas tank with gas torch, and two other cars were backed hard against it. This made three gas tanks within a few inches of the torch flame."

School D. Located in a village in cotton and tobacco farming country in the Upper South. Opened only a month ago. Thirty-seven Negro veterans divided into three courses—agriculture, auto mechanics, and electrical service. Classroom work in the regular Negro High School building, in the late afternoon and evening. Agricultural course is part of on-the-farm training. English, mathematics, and health are taught to all students. Electrical shopwork given in a school classroom. Electrical teacher good, giving good work.

The practical work for auto mechanics is done in a Negro-owned garage across the street from the school building. From five to ten each evening the fifteen Negro veterans in this course work at the privately-owned garage on repair work for which the proprietor charges his customers. In return, the garage-owner permits the students to use his premises and tools. Space too small, dirty, and disorderly. Nearly half the garage building is thinly partitioned from the shop and used as a drink stand and dance hall with juke box going constantly while the veterans do their repair work. Our visitor reports:

"If this drink stand can be closed, the shop cleaned up, all junk parts removed outside, and an instructor employed who will keep it that way, then it would be possible to give the veterans training in running repairs; otherwise the place is of no value as a training center."

In addition to these four schools whose work was expertly reviewed, we had visits made to a number of

others by interested and informed veterans who were not themselves experienced in vocational education. Here are brief summaries of their findings at two schools.

School E. Located in a busy Southwestern city. The three courses available to Negroes are radio, tailoring, and automobile mechanics. Ten courses are open to whites, including drafting, air conditioning, refrigeration repair, electrical appliance repair, and upholstering. The three Negro classes were scattered in three separate school buildings. Equipment good in two of the courses, inadequate in the third. Ninety-seven Negro veterans enrolled. Instructors well-trained and experienced. The ten courses open to whites operate on a full-time day basis, thirty hours a week, forty-eight weeks a year. The Negro courses operate on a half-time basis in the late afternoon and evening, fifteen hours a week, three hours a day. These three courses each run eighteen months. The city school officials are said to be planning a brand-new vocational school for Negroes.

School F. One of the two trade schools open to Negroes in a state with 40,000 Negro veterans, located in a cotton-raising county and attached to a state-supported college. The great bulk of the students in the trade courses are of sub-college level. Instruction offered in automobile mechanics, tailoring, sheet metal work, machine shop practices, carpentry, welding, radio repair, plumbing, and painting. Most classes sadly overcrowded. Auto mechanics work has to be done mainly out of doors. Equipment varies by shops from woefully inadequate to good. Most shops neatly arranged. All the teachers have had practical experience, but not all have had college training. Four hundred Negro veterans in attendance.

From such information as I have been able to gather about the institutional trade training opportunities open to Negro veterans in the South, the following observations are offered:

1. At many points public officials are due some criticism for the complacency with which they have approved the limitation of courses available to Negroes to the trades in which Negroes have an established hold. Generally speaking, Southern vocational school officials accept and will argue for the idea that Negroes should be taught only those lines of work in which they can fairly readily find employment in the area from which the school draws. Negroes would like to establish the principle that they should be given an opportunity to learn any trade they wish, provided it is a trade offering reasonable prospects for employment, color and area not regarded. Veterans are a rather mobile group anyway, and Negro veterans will be particularly so. It is also to be recalled that Negro business is steadily expanding and offers another channel of employment in specialized skills. Trade training would be considerably more tempting to Negro veterans if the range of courses were greatly widened, particularly in modern, expanding lines of work.

2. Everywhere it is plain that competent teachers are hard to get. This is partly a reflection of low salaries, but it is also a reflection of an absolute shortage of properly trained persons. It should become the business of some agency to gear the work of Negro trade training schools into the work of the Negro A & M colleges and such institutions as Hampton and Tuskegee. It is suggested that this duty might be assumed by the U. S. Office of Education or by the Veterans Administration or by the U. S. Retraining and Reemployment Administration.

3. A largely unsatisfied demand for full-time institutional trade training exists among Negro veterans in the South. Just how large no one knows. Ideally, some agency of Government should take a census of veterans to find out their wishes as to

training. Something of the kind has been done spasmodically and not too reliably in a few cities through voluntary organizations. Undoubtedly in some cities the school systems could readily provide a fair approximation of the wishes of the veterans who have made themselves known in writing to school officials. Thus it is said on good authority that over 500 Negro veterans are of record in New Orleans as wishing trade training of this kind. But no one knows at all what is wanted in the small places and in the country. This is an opportunity for the various veterans organizations to be of further service. Any one of them could readily put through a census of this kind.

4. In the case of most of the newly established schools, either the schools have themselves been unimaginative and slack in requesting surplus equipment or the Government officials concerned have been slow and uncooperative in making it available. Large numbers of students are using makeshift equipment when suitable equipment is available on surplus lists.

5. Thus far, no effective overall supervision of trade schools assisted with VA tuition money has been established with a view to bringing them up to minimum standards. Possibly this is one of the things that will be unravelled as the VA makes further progress with its staff of training officers and training facilities officers. Presumably the states will improve their own supervision. The present situation is that many of the trade schools are teaching poorly and are charging the Government successfully for this poor work.

6. The question of private versus public trade training schools is grave. Some private schools are obviously doing a shipshape job, for a profit. The profits available are large. The public institutions are at a disadvantage in that tradition and the needs of the non-veteran youth make it difficult to charge the stiff tuition that the Veterans Administration is willing to pay. Yet, clearly, schools begun under public assistance mainly for veterans would have every likelihood of surviving and even of growing into continued public usefulness after the veterans have moved through them. The private schools would have much less chance to survive.

7. Experience teaches that trade schools do the work expected of them in proportion to their success in keeping up close ties with industry and with organized labor, where organized. I have seen disquietingly little evidence that the new schools teaching Negro veterans are diligently cultivating such links.

Pressing Questions

In addition to these considerations, some policy questions are pressing for decision. They include the following:

I. Shall new trade schools be approved by the state officials on the basis that in my judgment is the present one in general use; namely, a school for whatever town clamors hardest to get one; or should there be a careful plan for schools so spaced sub-regionally within each state as to be within reach of all prospective students?

II. The same question posed in No. 1 above—should trade schools teach Negroes only trades that they can get into locally, or should they offer what the men want?

III. On the location of schools, should they continue to be put almost exclusively in presently industrialized areas, or should they be consciously established in areas presently rural but threatened with loss of population through loss of employment in agriculture? And if the latter, then—

IV. Should vocational classes in rural areas attempt to teach finished skills, or should they confine their work to background teaching in measurement, orderliness of work, materials, tools, and familiarity with large machinery?

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Tampa University Educates Against Hate

THE University of Tampa has established a new department, first of its kind in the South. The purpose of this department is to develop methods with which to fight interracial friction, hate propaganda of all kinds.

Interpersonal and intercultural relations, they call it, and hope to work toward becoming a center for scientific eradication of racial intolerance.

Dr. Ellwood C. Nance, president of the university, is much interested in this new departure in education. Describing the new department, he said, "It is for the specific purpose of aggressive educational action against the current emergency in our contemporary life of such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan." Head of the department is Dr. William G. Neiderland, Professor of Medical Psychology.

The course is especially recommended to teachers, social workers and clergymen, but is open to others as well. It hopes to deal with minority problems and potential tension among groups of people.

The university plans to establish a library and various literature on the subject, and to use laboratory methods as well as lectures. There will be conferences, radio programs and published articles.

As a basis of this study the student will consider personality problems, human motivations and weaknesses and the various psychological factors that enter into relations among groups.

Said Dr. Neiderland recently, "If we look at the history of Western civilization as a whole, we find that the greatest progress has been in technical matters because they are relatively free from emotional influences, mental distortion and interference. On the other hand, the least progress has been in human relations, in social organization, in personal and group arrangements because of the intense emotional factors and the inner tensions associated with these relations."

There is planned a speakers' bureau for schools, churches and various clubs and forums, and there will also be evening courses offered, especially for teachers.

They will train social workers to be assigned to specific problems. They will visit homes where children have reflected hate propaganda and will try to relieve the emotional and psychological problems caused by group friction and causing the friction. Parents will be invited to consult with Dr. Neiderland.

Eventually the university hopes to extend the scope of the department to all levels of the university, including the undergraduates.

The Texas Tribune

Race Relations, Labor Unions Topics of Student Essay Contest

The National Religion and Labor Foundation will launch a national essay contest for senior high school students to run during the school year 1946-47. The two subjects for essays are "The Danger of Racial and Religious Prejudice to Democracy" and "The Contribution of Trade Unions to Democracy."

The first prize for each subject is $100.00; second prize, $50.00; third prize, $25.00. Five runner-up prizes of $10.00 each are also offered for each subject.

Each essay must be the original work of the student, will be limited to 500 words. Entries must be postmarked not later than March 31, 1947. Bibliographies and other information may be obtained by writing to the National Religion and Labor Foundation, 106 Carmel Street, New Haven 11, Connecticut.

Preacher Helps Avert Lynch Threat By Taking Stand Against Mob

A threatened lynching was recently prevented largely by a Methodist preacher, Rev. J. D. McDavid, of the Alabama Conference. At his request the name of the town is withheld, for "The community is now glad the threat was averted and I think should not suffer the embarrassment of publicity about it."

Early last month a prominent citizen, a member of Mr. McDavid's church, was killed by a Negro. The killer escaped to a near-by swamp where he was captured next morning by a civilian posse. No officers were present and sentiment was strong for immediate mob vengeance. Learning of this situation, the young preacher joined the posse, took his stand be side the car where the Negro was held and, with the support of a few others of like mind, succeeded in dissuading and standing off the would-be lynchers for forty-five minutes till the sheriff arrived. The officer then took the man in charge and started with him to the county jail, thirty miles away. Still apprehensive of possible violence, the young preacher followed the sheriff's car for several miles, and turned back only when reasonably sure that the prisoner would be delivered safely, as he was.

Florida Division of SRC Backs Governor's Education Committee

The Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council, at its first annual meeting in Jacksonville recently, commended and resolved to cooperate with the Governor's Citizens Committee on Education.

The Florida group recommended to its state SRC membership that the Florida SRC engage in a fact-finding survey, make use of all information obtainable from the Governor's Committee and coordinate its own findings with the survey conducted by the committee, prepare to endorse the Committee's report to the Florida legislature and stress any points omitted by the Governor's Committee.

After Chairman Edgar W. Ray of Tampa outlined plans for the state division's membership campaign and the need for a field worker to push the drive, the group agreed to employ a full-time field worker for three months and left open the possibility of a part-time field worker for the entire year.

The group also went on record in favor of "retention of control of primaries under state law in order to safeguard the best interests of all the eligible voters of the state."

Dr. M. Ashby Jones, retired Baptist minister widely known throughout the South as a fighter for human rights and long-time active member of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, died in Atlanta in January at the age of 78.

Negro History Week

Dear————:

We are hoping that you will join with us in the celebration of *Negro History Week* beginning February 9, 1947. The theme for the year is "Democracy Possible Only Through Brotherhood." History does not show that democracy has ever been attained by such methods as we are using today. We are holding conferences and passing resolutions and deciding by a majority what shall be done or what shall not be done without laying a foundation on which we can build a new structure. What the representatives of the nations are now doing may be destroyed overnight and soon forgotten in the mad rush for more selfish gains. The thing for which we should now be working is brotherhood. People who do not practice it will never live together in peace and will never keep the peace with neighboring nations.

Respectfully yours,
C. G. Woodson,
Director, Association for the
Study of Negro Life and History.

Six Lynch Deaths Listed for 1946 By Tuskegee Institute

Tuskegee Institute, long recognized recorder of lynchings in the United States, listed six definite lynch deaths for 1946 in its end-of-the-year report from the Institute's President F. D. Patterson.

"There are four borderline cases which are not included in the total number of lynchings for 1946 because to date sufficient evidence concerning them has not been obtained," Dr. Patterson reported.

States in which the listed lynching deaths occurred are Georgia, 4; Louisiana, 1; and Mississippi, 1.

The Negro in Kentucky

"Let's Pull Together, Kentuckians!" is the title of a new 8-page leaflet prepared by the Southern Regional Council for the Kentucky Interracial Council. It is based on a study made by the Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs and is an interesting, brief illustrated story of the Negro in Kentucky and what the official Commission recommended to equalize opportunity for the State's Negro citizens. The Southern Regional Council has a limited number of copies, which may be obtained at five cents each by writing SRC headquarters in Atlanta.

Brotherhood Week

The National Conference of Christians and Jews has announced the 14th annual observance of National Brotherhood Week February 16-23, 1947. The theme is "Brotherhood-Pattern for Peace." Program aids for use in schools and colleges may be secured by writing to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York. Materials are adapted to age levels in the schools. Plays, comics, posters, book lists and other types of literature, and visual aids are available.

Equality of Opportunity

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tossed from the big dinner table. By and large, the pattern of World War I was followed. Temporary training camps and temporary shipyards were built in the South, but today they are assuming the ghost-like appearance the Government knew they would turn into after the war. But in the East, the Midwest, and yes, even in the Far West, there were plants built that now are converted for industrial use, and they will add to the standard of living of the people working in and living near them.

I have heard apologists for economic discrimination against the South say that labor there is so untrained that it would do no good to industrialize the section, but that lie was nailed by the quickly-acquired skill of Southerners, white and colored, in building ships and other temporary war necessities.

Enemies in the Camp

I have read the very excellent study of Negroes in the United States, entitled "The American Dilemma," made by Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish scholar, at the request of the Carnegie Corporation. His findings confirmed the conditions you and I are interested in correcting. But I believe there was one missing element in the study — the real cause of the truths he found.

The comparatively few Southerners who have fared well under forced servitude do not want changes in the colonial pattern. They are either long-entrenched landlords or good servants to their absentee masters. They best can get along with cheap labor, white or colored. They can hold on longer when they can hold back education, stir class against class, race against race.

They are very subtle, these enemies of the South within its borders. They influence political stooges to prate about white supremacy, to throw bugaboos about job security and to stir passions. You know these men—

the Bilbos, the Rankins, the Talmadges, the hooded cowards of the Ku Klux Klan. And, unfortunately, in too many places because of the conditions created by poverty, minds are fertile for cultivation by these blasphemers of the American creed.

Alexander Pope in his great "Essay on Man" observed:

Say first, of God above or man below,
What can we reason but from what we know.

In the South too many know too little and they reason accordingly....

So, if we reason sensibly, lifting of economic barriers erected around the South can be the greatest single contribution to the welfare of the great majority of Negroes in the United States.

During World War II when everyone who wanted to work in Dixie could find a job at good pay, there was very little worry, very little orating and very little trouble between the races. But unless jobs stay available—and a well-rounded economy is essential to that — I am fearful of new tensions, new discriminations. The billion dollars the South has piled up in recent prosperous years to pay unemployment compensation will be but a sedative for an old ill. . . .

Growing Strength

There is a growing list of people of good will throughout the South. You will find them in newspaper offices, in radio stations, in colleges and universities, in the ministry, in social services and other fields, including business. For example, nearly 90 per cent of the editors of Georgia's newspapers, daily and weekly, opposed the election of Eugene Talmadge as Governor. Ministers and teachers and enlightened business and agricultural leaders despised what he said and fought him. Even in Mississippi some editors started awakening the people to the demagoguery of Rankin and Bilbo.

That these people of good will in the South suffered setbacks should not be discouraging to you or to me, for Alexander Pope was right, too, when he said:

The ruling passion, be it what it will,
The ruling passion conquers reason still.

These Southern men of good will stand ready to help change the ruling passion, through education and cooperation, from one of hate and prejudice and economic fear to that all Americans should desire — cooperation and understanding. . . .

Perhaps there is a feeling that all paths to such a goal in the South are too thorny and rocky. I guarantee to you that they are extremely thorny and at times desperately rocky, but they can be travelled if there is a real will to do the job. . . .

Vocational Schools for Veterans

(*Continued from page 8*)

Enough has been said to indicate the writer's view that the South has today a great opportunity to equip itself for greater industrial progress, readier absorption of rural labor, a higher level of living, and more civic peace, if it will start and run two or three hundred new trade training schools for Negroes and of course an even larger number of new schools for whites.

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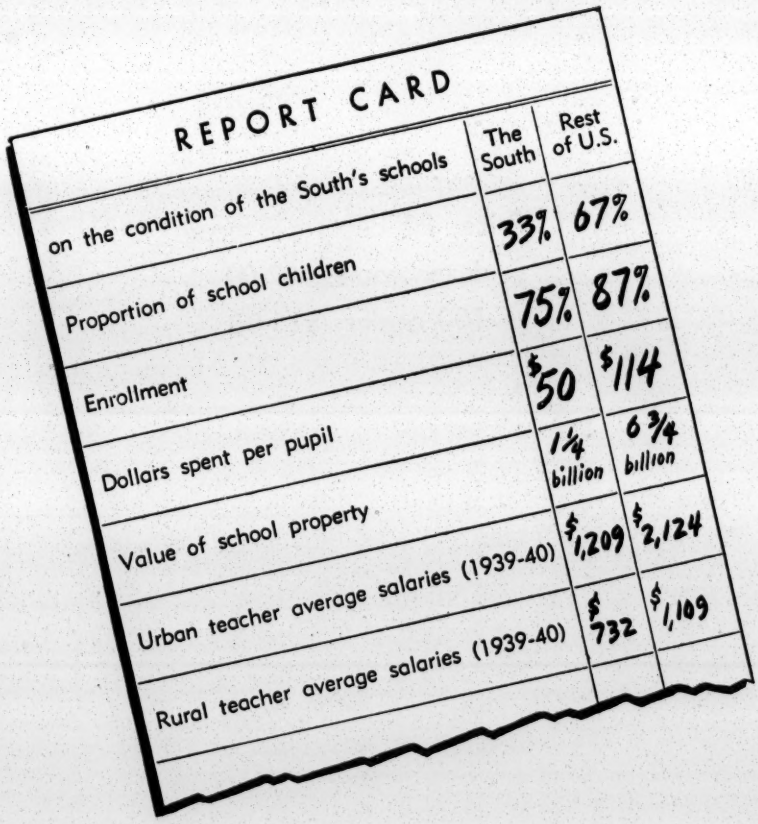
To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

No. 8



REPORT CARD on the condition of the South's schools	The South	Rest of U.S.
Proportion of school children	33%	67%
Enrollment	75%	87%
Dollars spent per pupil	$50	$114
Value of school property	1¼ billion	6¾ billion
Urban teacher average salaries (1939-40)	$1,209	$2,124
Rural teacher average salaries (1939-40)	$732	$1,109

Wanted:

An Educated South

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dozen copies, $2.00
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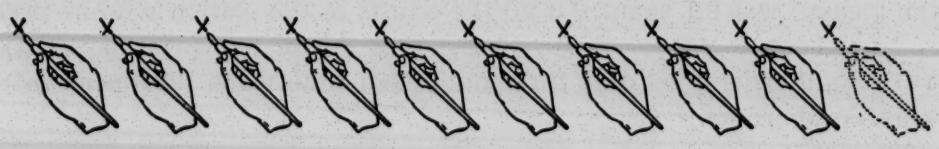
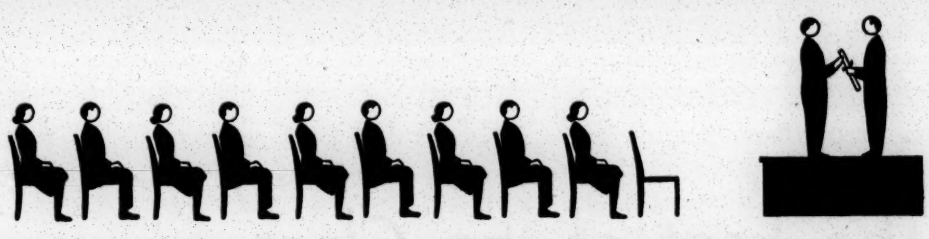
The Foot of the Class

THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH, like all Americans, believe in the value of education. Yet the South lags far behind the rest of the United States in educating its people. We had a clear look at the shortcomings of our educational system when our young men were called up for military service. For instance, between May and September of 1941, more than six out of every 100 (6.5 per cent) Southern boys who registered for the draft could not write their own names and had to sign their cards with an "X". During the same period less than one in ten (0.2 per cent) of young men outside the South could not sign their names. In fact, of the total number of 347,038 draft registrants in this period who couldn't sign their names, nine out of ten (91.1 per cent) were Southerners.

It is plain, therefore, that too many of the South's young men are uneducated. The "X" that several thousand young Southerners had to make instead of writing their names is a meaningful symbol: for in a way it is a cross that these young men, plus many other Southerners, have to bear in trying to make their way in life; and it is also a cross that the South as a whole has to bear — and shake off as soon as possible — in its struggle to move forward. And we must remember that the men who signed for the draft were most of them fairly young, part of a generation that has had better educational opportunities than the generation before it — better, but obviously still not good enough.

'X' MARKS THE BLOT — ON SOUTHERN EDUCATION: Of 350,000 draftees who had to sign their names with an 'X', nine out of ten were Southerners.





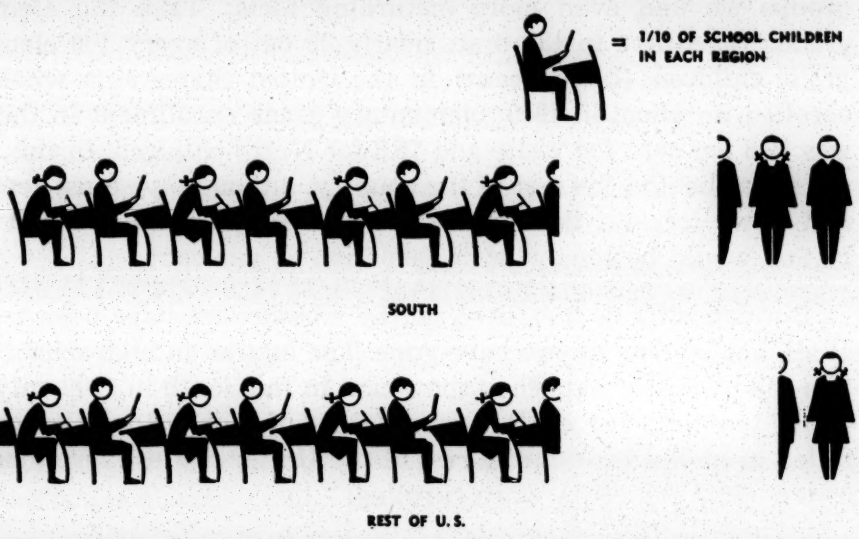
ONE IN TEN MAKES IT: The record shows that among all the people of the South aged 25 or over (in 1940) only one in ten had finished high school.

So we may ask: how well educated is the South? — or, if you like, how ignorant is the South? Let's take a look at the adult population — people aged 25 years or over. The 1940 census shows that nearly six out of every 100 Southerners (5.7 per cent) in this group had never been to school, compared to three (3.1 per cent) for the rest of the United States. If six out of 100 seems a small number, let's investigate a little further. For example, more than 18 out of every 100 adults (18.4 per cent) in the South, the 1940 census shows, had dropped out of school before they reached the fifth grade; but in the rest of the Nation, leaving out the 13 Southern states, less than seven out of 100 (6.9 per cent) had dropped out before the fifth grade. The record for high school is even worse. The 1940 census shows that only about one out of ten adults (10.6 per cent) in the South had completed four years of high school; in the rest of the Nation, 15.3 per cent of the adults had been to high school for four years.

In college education, too, the South lags behind the rest of the Nation: 3.8 per cent of the South's adult population in 1940 had completed four or more years of college training, compared with 4.8 per cent for the rest of the United States.

The educational disadvantage of the average Southerner is shown in what statisticians call the "median" — what we might call the "typical." In 1940 the median number of school years completed by adult Americans was 8.4 years. The "typical" Southerner had completed only 7.5 years. And the average length of the school term in the South is shorter, so the difference in the amount and quality of education is even greater. In the Far West, the best-educated region, the median was 9.7 years. Of all the adults in the Nation who in 1940 had not been to school at all, almost four out of ten (37.9 per cent) were Southerners; yet only three out of ten Americans (28.9 per cent) were Southerners.

Now, it's right here that somebody usually says that after all there



THE LITTLE CHILD WHO WASN'T THERE: The 1940 Census shows that in that year only 74.5 percent of all Southern children of school age were enrolled in school, compared with 86.5 percent for the rest of the Nation.

is a large Negro population in the South and that the Negro's lack of education drags the South's average down. That's true, but it's just another way of saying that we in the South have failed to give our Negro citizens proper educational opportunities. And the facts for white Southerners alone are bad enough. For instance: more than 12 out of every 100 Southern white adults (12.2 per cent) stopped school before reaching the fifth grade, compared to only seven out of 100 (6.9 per cent) for the rest of the Nation; and only one in every ten white Southern adults had finished four or more years of high school, according to the 1940 census.

No matter how we break it up, the fact is that past generations of Southerners have not been as well educated as people in other parts of the country. But very little can be done now to educate these grown-ups, except those who want education enough to seek it for themselves. The important thing is the training of the coming generations.

So let's take a look at the educational opportunities of Southern school children of today — what educators call the "school-age population," which includes all children from five through 17 years of age. The 1940 census showed that only 75 out of every 100 Southern children (74.5 per cent) were enrolled in school; in the rest of the Nation, not counting the South's low record, more than 86 out of every 100 children (86.5 per cent) were enrolled. If we break this down into different age

groups we find even more disturbing facts. Take the elementary grades (aged five to 13) first: nearly 85 out of every 100 elementary grade children (84 per cent) in the United States as a whole were enrolled in school in 1940; elementary grade enrollment in the South was 79.8 per cent for white and 76.8 for Negro children. In this we are not so far behind the rest of the country, although we must remember that if we left out the South's record the figure for the rest of the Nation would be somewhat higher than 84 per cent.

But education is measured not by whether we have been to school at all, but by how far we have gone. The figures on high school education tell us about that. They show that in the South in 1940 only seven out of ten (69.9 per cent) young people of high school age were enrolled in high school; in the rest of the United States more than eight in ten (83.7 per cent) were enrolled.

Not only is the South's student enrollment low, but the attendance record of those who are enrolled is below the national average. Average 1940 daily attendance in grammar and high schools outside the South was 88.5 per cent; in the South it was only 83 per cent.

To sum up, we see that not only are Southerners of past generations badly educated in comparison with the rest of the Nation, but that our young people of today — though their opportunities are considerably better than what their parents had — are not provided with or are unable to take advantage of as good an education as young people in the rest of the United States.

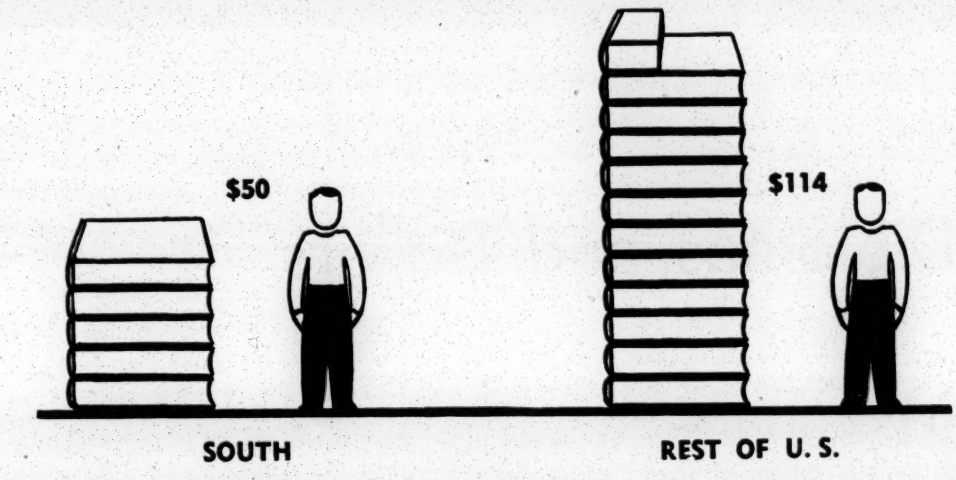
Diplomas and Dollars

MONEY MAY BE "the root of all evil," but the lack of money seems to be the cause of many evils, too. Time and again we are told that poverty is the main cause of this or that Southern problem. Education is no exception, for when we seek the reasons for the South's poor educational showing one of the first things we discover is that we are not spending as much money for education as the non-Southern states. Rupert B. Vance, keen student of Southern problems, truly says that education "must be regarded as a purchaseable commodity."[1]

There are four main points to consider in the money-measurement of an educational system: how much money is spent per pupil for education, how well are the teachers paid (which is another way of asking how well-trained they are), how much money is invested in school buildings and equipment, and how many teachers have to teach how many students?

First, let's take the average student in the South and see how he fares in comparison with his fellow-student outside the South. For instance, in 1939-40 the average yearly cost of educating one pupil in the non-Southern states was $114.28. In the South, for the same period, the money allotted for one pupil was less than half this amount — only $50.79. Another way to measure this is by what educators call "expenditures per classroom unit" — the over-all cost of operating a typical classroom for one year. In 1946 the Associated Press published a chart showing this kind of expense, based on figures from the National Educational Association and the American Council on Education (the chart did not say what year the figures were for). This showed that in 31 non-Southern states the median expenditure per classroom unit was $2,199 — almost double the expenditure for white schools in 17 Southern and border states; these 17 states had a median expendi-

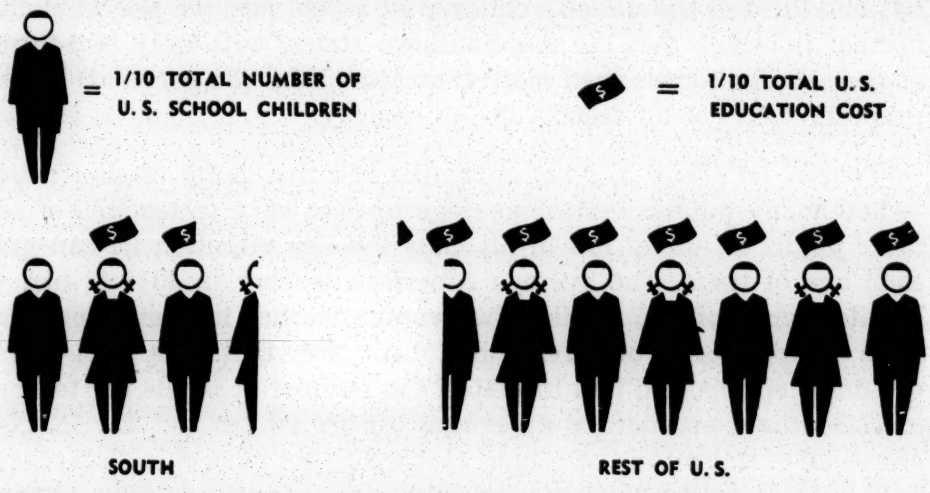
[1]See *Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation,* by Rupert B. Vance, Southern Regional Council, 1946, p. 22.



DOLLARS MAKE KNOWLEDGE: In 1939-40 spending for education in the non-Southern states was $114.28 per school child. In the 13 Southern states it was $50.79—less than half as much. Each book symbol represents $10 per child.

ture per classroom unit of $1,166 for whites and $477 for Negroes. The figures for the 13 Southern states alone would be even lower, for we must remember that such border states as Delaware, Maryland, Missouri and West Virginia have more money for education than the strictly Southern states, and so they raise the over-all average.

Second, let's consider the training and pay of teachers and the effect they have on the quality of education. This measurement is based on the fact that the best-trained teachers naturally go where they can get the best salaries. Since the South spends less for education than any other region, many of the best teachers leave the South and work elsewhere. The average training of Southern teachers is below the national standard. And within the Southern states we find wide differences in the qualifications of teachers: the proportion of white teachers with four or more years of college training ranged (in 1939-40) from a low of only 31.6 per cent in Arkansas to a high of 83.5 for North Carolina; about half of the white teachers in Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and Virginia had less than four years of college education. To put it another way, too many Southern teachers lack the fullest education needed to do their jobs most efficiently. In Arkansas, for example, more than half (52.6 per cent) of the white teachers have no more than two years of college training; and white teachers with no more than two years of college education make up 40 per cent of the total in Florida, Tennessee and Virginia, and 35 per cent of the total in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi. In North Carolina, on the



SHORT-CHANGED: The South has one-third of the Nation's children of school age, yet in 1939-40 we spent for their education only 17 percent of the total U. S. education bill.

other hand, all but 2.9 per cent of the teachers had more than two years of college training.

We have said that the salaries paid teachers is a basic index to their training. There are, of course, good teachers in the South, and many more who would be good teachers if they were encouraged by higher salaries to study for more training. For instance, no state in the South in 1939-40 came anywhere near the national average public school teacher salary of $1,441 a year. The nearest approach by Southern states was in Florida, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas, where average teacher salaries were a little more than $1,000 a year. In nine Southern states the average teacher received less than $1,000 a year. Mississippi was at the bottom of the list with an average of less than $600.

The pay and, consequently, the training of Negro teachers in the South — which we shall discuss later — were of course even lower than the salaries of white teachers. The same disadvantage holds for rural schools (both white and colored) compared to urban schools, and this too will be considered in another section of this report.

Third, what kind of school buildings and equipment do we have? This can be expressed simply in terms of the total value of school property. The total value of school property in the 13 Southern states in 1941-42 was about a billion and a quarter dollars. It sounds like a lot of money, but it made up only 15.9 per cent — less than one-fifth — of the total value of the entire Nation's school property which was

almost eight billion dollars. When we remind ourselves that the South has one-third of the nation's children of school age, we see what this means: it means that the non-Southern states, with only two-thirds of the school children, had more than four-fifths (84 per cent) of the property value of all schools in the country.

Fourth, let's look at what educators call the "pupil-teacher ratio" — how many pupils does the average teacher have to teach? For the more pupils a teacher has in his class the less attention he can give each one of them. The average American teacher in 1941-42 had to handle a class of 24.5 pupils. The average teacher in every Southern state except Florida and Texas had more than that. The U. S. Office of Education reported that in 1941-42 the number of pupils per teacher in 17 Southern and border states was 28.6 for whites and 36.1 for Negroes. All of this means, of course, that we do not have enough teachers in the South to handle our education systems properly. The burden on Southern teachers is too great: not only do they have to handle larger classes, but generally they have to do it with poorer equipment in sub-standard buildings, and they have to do it for less money.

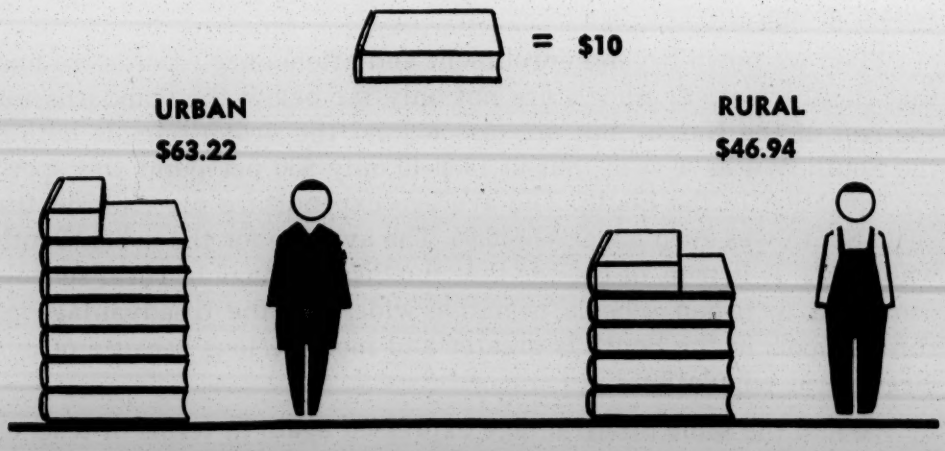
So we have checked the things that make a sound education system and we find the South lacking in all of them, too far below the national average in every point except the one thing that a school can't do without — school children. We lead the Nation in the production of school children. We can summarize the South's disadvantage by a glance at the over-all total spent for public education. The grand total expense for public schools in the United States in 1939-40 was $2,344,048,927: the total for the South was $399,668,358 — only 17 per cent of the national total. Yet we have one-third of the school children, and for the right kind of education for them we should be spending about one-third of the national education bill.

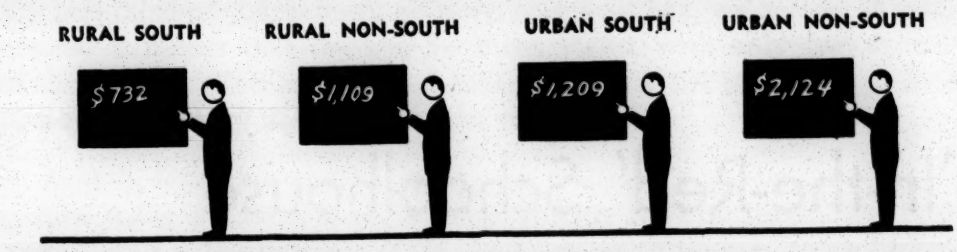
'In-the-Red' Schoolhouse

MOST OF THE PEOPLE of the South live on farms and in small towns, and more than two-thirds of Southern school children live in rural areas. In the rest of the United States only about one-third of the school children live in the country, so the problem of rural education is most important to the South. In fact, it is the poor showing of our rural schools plus our Negro schools that makes the South look so bad in comparison with the rest of the Nation. For example, in Southern cities almost all children of school age are enrolled in school — 97.7 per cent; but in rural areas only about eight in ten (81.6 per cent) are enrolled. This is higher than rural enrollment in the rest of the Nation, but we must remember that more than two-thirds of our children live in rural areas, which means that enrollment is low among the greater part of Southern boys and girls.

Besides, there is another way of looking at this: enrollment in the rural South is higher than in rural areas outside the South, but —

THE LEAST FOR THE MOST: More than two-thirds of Southern school children live in rural areas, and yet in 1939-40 spending for rural education in the South was only $46.94 per pupil. In the urban South the average was $63.22.





POOR PAY, POOR TEACHERS: Here is a simple picture of one of the causes of the South's low education status, especially in the rural South. Compare the average teacher salaries, urban and rural, South and non-South, in 1930-40.

and this is important — the rural *attendance* record in the South is lower. Average daily attendance in the rural South was about eight out of ten (82.3 per cent) compared to nine out of ten (89.8 per cent) for rural areas in the rest of the Nation. Attendance generally is slightly higher in urban areas than in rural areas, but this does not hold true uniformly, for rural attendance is higher than urban in Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia, and in Florida they are about the same. There are reasons, of course, why rural attendance is generally lower: children have to travel greater distances to school, transportation and bad weather are problems, and rural children are often kept away from school to help with the farm work.

Older children, especially, do not fare well in rural education. For example: in Southern schools the enrollment is about three-fourths (75.3 per cent) in kindergarten-and-elementary grades and one-fourth (24.7 per cent) in high school. But in the rural South it's more than four-fifths (83.1 per cent) kindergarten-and-elementary and less than one-fifth (16.9 per cent) high school. This means that far too many rural children are dropping out before they reach high school. In the rest of the Nation rural education is following-through better, with more than one-fourth (28.5 per cent) of total enrollment in the high school group.

When we move beyond enrollment and attendance records we find that Southern rural schools are not only far below the standards for the rest of the Nation, but are also behind the urban schools *within* the South. We have seen that in 1939-40 only $50 per pupil was spent for education in the South. The average expenditure per child in the rural South was even lower — $46.94. The average for the urban South was $63.22. It is true, of course, that the disadvantage of rural schools compared to urban schools is nation-wide, but the disadvantage of rural schools in the South is greater and more serious because of our large rural population.

We find the same disadvantage expressed again in terms of teacher

AVERAGE SALARIES OF URBAN AND RURAL TEACHERS (1939-40)

	Urban	Rural
South	$1,209	$ 732
Rest of U. S.	2,124	1,109
Alabama	1,037	645
Arkansas	827	509
Florida	1,012	1,012
Georgia	1,222	594
Kentucky	1,401	643
Louisiana	1,598	784
Mississippi	913	487
North Carolina	1,094	892
Oklahoma	1,318	874
South Carolina	958	663
Tennessee	1,153	749
Texas	1,364	871
Virginia	1,353	698

pay, which indicates that rural schools generally get the poorer teachers. Rural school teachers in the South in 1939-40 had an average annual salary of only $732 compared with $1,109 for rural teachers in the rest of the Nation; urban teachers in the South had an average salary of $1,029, almost $500 a year more than Southern rural teachers (but nearly $1,000 less than urban teachers got outside the South).

Estimates of the dollar value of school property per pupil show the same thing another way. In the rural South in 1939-40 there was only $95 worth of school property per pupil enrolled, compared with $267 per pupil in rural areas outside the South and $235 per pupil in the urban South. This says plainly that rural schools in the South, with certain fine exceptions, are out of date or poorly built or too small or all three. The fact that schools of the urban South had a property value of $235 per pupil does not mean that city children had better schools than they needed; urban schools outside the South had a value of $439 per pupil. Even allowing for higher construction costs in northern areas would not level off most of the difference.

In pupil-teacher ratio, we find that rural teachers on the average do not carry quite as heavy a burden as urban teachers in the South, although in some Southern states the rural classes are far too large. In the rural South as a whole the ratio was 30.8 pupils per teacher, compared with 32.9 in the urban South. But the pupil-teacher ratio for rural schools in non-Southern states was 22.1; in the South it ranged from 26.4 in Texas to 40.5 in Mississippi.

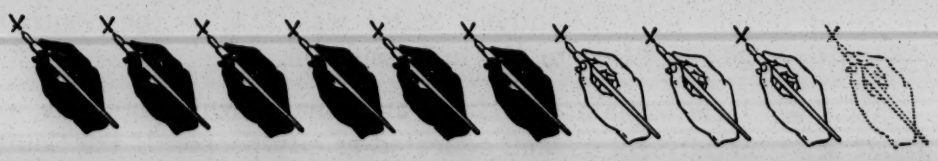
All these facts explain why farm and small town people, as we know, are generally not as well educated as city people. If the South is to move forward, the problem of our rural schools must be solved.

Separate—and Unequal

As we said before, people who find it convenient to blame all the South's problems on the Negro usually try to explain away the South's lack of education in the same way. But this is only half the truth. It is true, of course, that the low educational status of the South's large Negro population is a big factor in the region's poor showing in comparison with the rest of the nation. For instance, going back to the draftees who couldn't write their own names: nine out of the ten were Southerners, and six of the nine (66.7 per cent) were Negroes. But, as we also said before, that only means that the South has failed to provide proper education for the Negro.

Let's see how badly we have failed. We have already found that six out of 100 Southern adults in 1940 had never been to school. If we break this down by race, we see that the proportion of white adults with no schooling whatever was 3.2 per cent, which compares favorably with the national average of 3.1 per cent. On the other hand, more than twelve out of every 100 Negro adults (12.3 per cent) in the South had never been to school. The same disadvantage to the Negro carries through in all other measurements of education and educational opportunity. For example, 12 out of 100 white adults (12.2 per cent) had dropped out of school before they reached the fifth grade — but more

NON-HAND-WRITING ON THE WALL: No nation, no region, can advance if a large portion of its people is uneducated. Of the nine Southern draftees who signed their names with X-es, six were Negroes.



than one-third of Negro adults (37.6 per cent) had left school before the fifth grade. Worst of all is the record for high school: one in ten white adults had finished high school, but only about two in every one hundred Negro adults (2.3 per cent) had completed four years of high school study. The Southern Negro has even greater disadvantages when it comes to a college education. About five out of every 100 white adults (4.6 per cent) in the South in 1940 had been to college four years or more: only one in every 100 Negro adults (0.9 per cent) had gone that far.

These facts, of course, show only how badly the South has educated the Negro in the past. What about the educational opportunities for Negro boys and girls today? There is no doubt that in recent years the South has made progress in Negro education, but it still has a long way to go. Let's analyze the facts in the 1940 census when 86.5 per cent of the school-age children in the non-Southern states were enrolled in school. In the South that year 75.1 per cent of white children of school age were enrolled; 72.6 per cent of Negro children were enrolled. This isn't a great difference, but if we break it down into grammar and high school groups we find Negro youth at a great disadvantage in terms of the follow-through of education. In the elementary grades (ages five through 13) 79.8 per cent of white children and 76.8 per cent of Negro children were enrolled in the South. But in the junior high and high school group there is a wide difference: 71.6 per cent of Southern white children of secondary school age (14 to 17) were enrolled; only 63.8 per cent of Negro children of the same age were in junior high and high schools.

There are many reasons for the Southern Negro's lack of education and educational opportunity. One of them is the poor quality of training offered in Negro public schools. We have already seen that the qualifications of white teachers in the South are inferior to that of teachers in other parts of the Nation. The training of the average Negro teacher in the South is even lower. Oklahoma was the only one of 12[2] Southern states where the proportion of Negro teachers with four or more years of college education almost equalled that of white teachers. In fact, the percentage of Negro teachers with four or more years of college training for the twelve states ranged from a low of 9.1 per cent in Mississippi to 65.8 per cent in Oklahoma. In nine of these Southern states the proportion of Negro teachers with this much training was less than 40 per cent. More than two-thirds of the Negro teachers in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina had not received four years of college education. In other

[2]Information by race not available on Kentucky.

AVERAGE SALARIES OF NEGRO AND WHITE TEACHERS (1939-40)

State	Average Salary Negro	Average Salary White
Oklahoma	$971	$ 998
Kentucky	959	873*
Texas	667	1,153
North Carolina	645	910
Virginia	608	908
Florida	583	1,147
Louisiana	504	1,193
Alabama	408	874
Georgia	403	901
South Carolina	391	953
Arkansas	375	638
Mississippi	235	821

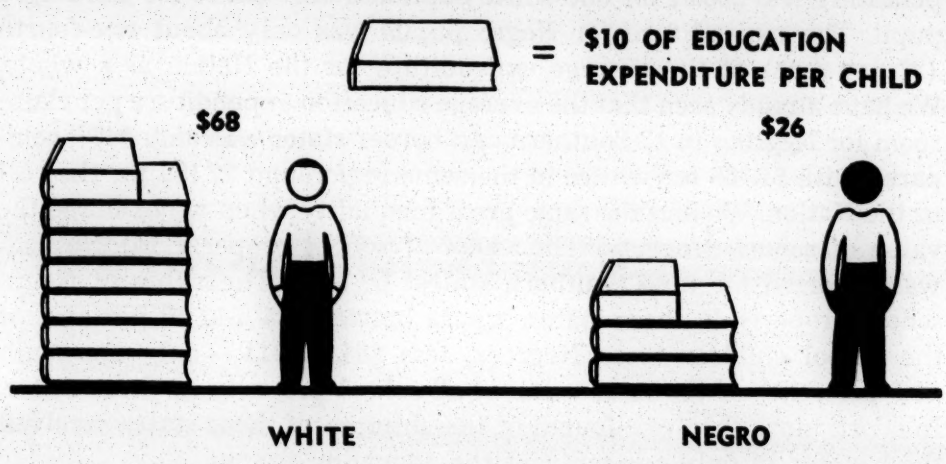
(Tennessee — not available.)

*The unusual fact that average salaries in Kentucky are higher for Negro teachers than for white teachers must be explained by pointing out that the Negro population of Kentucky is comparatively small and that the poor quality of schools for white children in some rural areas, the mountains and the mining communities brings down the average for white teachers.

words, the training of Negro teachers in the South is not enough to enable them to do the best kind of teaching job: the greater part of them have only two years or even less of college education.

Again we come to the money problem — teacher pay. The salaries of Negro teachers in the South are much lower than those of white teachers. Oklahoma, which had the highest percentage of well-trained teachers, naturally turns out to have paid the highest average salaries received by Negro teachers in the South — $971 a year. In the next highest ranks for average teacher pay were Texas, $667 a year; North Carolina, $645 a year; and Virginia, $608 a year. In seven of the 12 Southern states average yearly salaries for Negro teachers ranged from $583 in Florida to $285 in Mississippi. The widest difference between salaries of white and Negro teachers was also in Mississippi: $821 a year for white teachers, compared with $285 for Negro teachers.

These figures are for 1939-40, and in recent years there has been organized action throughout the South by Negro citizens, with the cooperation of forward-looking white citizens, to assure Negro teachers equal pay (on the basis of qualifications) with white teachers. Here and there some improvements have been made or are being made. And the war years have undoubtedly brought changes to the over-all condition of Negro teacher-training in the South. More recent scattered records show that in some Southern areas during World War II and after Negro teachers had better training than white teachers. This



THERE'S A REASON: If the Negro in the South is poorly educated there are reasons for it. One reason is that so much less is spent for Negro education. The average expenditure — per child — for Negro education in the South is little more than one-third of the average for Southern white pupils.

was because the best-trained white teachers were drawn off into better-paying war-and-boom jobs, but educated Negroes, with fewer opportunities in business and industry, still took up teaching. On the whole, however, white teachers are still ahead of Negro teachers in both training and salaries in the South. It was estimated, on the basis of 1939-40 salaries, that it would take nearly 25 million dollars to bring Negro teachers' pay up to the equal of white teachers in 11 Southern states.

Negro schools in the South are handicapped with a heavy "teacher load," heavy even in comparison with Southern white schools, which we have seen do not have enough teachers. Earlier we noted that the U. S. Office of Education said that in 1941-42 the ratio in 17 Southern and border states was 28.6 white pupils per teacher and 36.1 Negro pupils per teacher. The Negro teacher-load was heavier than the white in every Southern state except Kentucky and Oklahoma, and in three states — Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi — the ratio in Negro schools was more than 40 pupils per teacher.

All of this boils down to the question of how much money is spent for Negro education in the South. From what we have just seen we can guess that it is pitifully small. It is. Here is the comparison of education dollars spent per pupil, Negro and white, in 12 states, all but one in the Southern Region.[3] In 1941-42 the average yearly ex-

[3]Excludes Kentucky and Tennessee, includes Maryland.

penditure was $68.04 for one white pupil and only $26.59 for one Negro pupil. The expenditure for Negro pupils was only about one-fourth (27 per cent) of the average expenditure for the Nation as a whole. We have already seen that the average education expenditure per classroom for Negroes in 17 Southern and border states was only $477, compared with $1,166 for whites in the same region and $2,199 for the rest of the Nation. We find the same great inequality when we examine the value of school property. The value of school property for Negroes was reported for nine Southern states[4] in 1942. The value of Negro school property in these states, where between 25 and 30 per cent of the school children were Negroes, was $84,348,411 — only one-tenth (9.5 per cent) of the total value of all school property in those states. In short, more than one-fourth of the children of those states received the benefits of only one-tenth of the education funds.

We have seen that rural education is generally inferior to urban education throughout the South. The disadvantage to Negro school children in the rural South is even greater than it is to white children. Since about two-thirds of our Negro population lives on farms and in small towns, the problem of rural education is especially severe for Southern Negroes — in terms of dollars spent for education, school facilities, teacher-training, and enrollment and attendance. In other words, although the Negro all over the South is handicapped in education opportunities, the odds are even greater against rural Negro boys and girls.

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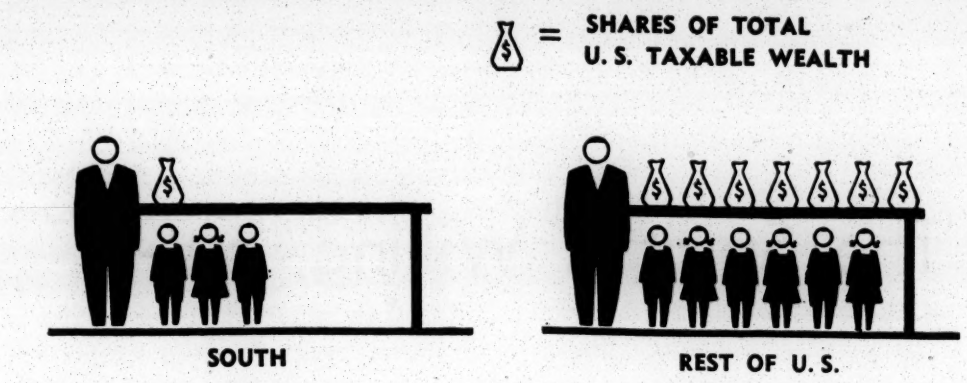
[4]Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

'The Spirit Is Willing, but—'

To OUTLINE the shortcomings of the South's educational system is easy, of course; and to suggest what must be done, what is needed to improve it, is not difficult; but to say *how* Southern education can be lifted to equality with the standards of the rest of the Nation and even beyond them is not so simple a task. For the South has believed in education and has tried hard to provide good schools for its children. Rupert B. Vance writes in his study of the South, *All These People*,[5] that "the present low educational status of the Southeast may be discouraging, but it is not the result of lagging behind the country in recent years. It comes, in fact, at the close of a period in which the region has made the most rapid progress. The region started from the lowest position, and since 1870 has made heroic efforts to close the gap in its public education program, efforts that now have a history extending backward for almost seventy years." But Dr. Vance adds: "In terms of comparative education advance, it has required hard running for the Southeast to stand still. To catch up with national standards may demand a greater burst of speed than the region can muster."

The solution to the problem lies in two main factors: intentions and ability — in other words, does the South want education for its people enough to do something about it, and has the South got the money it will take to do the job? That the South wants education and has sought it is borne out by Dr. Vance's statement and the history of public education in the Southern states. We have come a long way, but we still have a long way to go. The second factor brings us back to the same old Southern problem — poverty. It takes money to provide good schools, and it takes taxes to raise the money. Southern educators concluded at a recent meeting that the South is trying to educate too many students on too little money. This is plainly seen

[5] *All These People*, by Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1946.



CAN THE SOUTH DO BETTER?: A little better, perhaps, on its own. But whether the South has the money to do what must be done is another question. This picture shows how hard it is. The South has one-third of the children but only one-eighth of the Nation's taxable wealth.

in the hard fact that the South had one-third of the Nation's children and only one-eighth of the Nation's taxpaying wealth. It is not to be solved by so simple an act as raising taxes. Southerners know the old proverb: "You can't get blood out of a turnip." The truth is that there is not in the South enough wealth to be taxed. In fact, the record shows that the Southern states put a greater share of their income into education than the wealthy non-Southern states. A recent study of American education puts it this way:

"The poor states try harder than the rich. . . . The states poor in income generally have low expenditures for schools in spite of greater than average effort. For instance, Mississippi, it will be remembered, which has the lowest level of support for schools in the Union, ranks ninth in percentage of income devoted to education. Mississippi spends 3.41 per cent of its income to maintain schools with a median expenditure of $400 while New York expends only 2.61 per cent of its income but it has a median rate of expenditure of $4,100 per classroom unit."[6]

The "poor states" mentioned here are mostly Southern states. The South's lack of industry and service trades, and the lack of jobs and the low incomes that grow out of this lack, lie at the roots of our problems in educations as in most other shortcomings of the region.[7]

[6]Norton and Lawler, *Unfinished Business in American Education: An Inventory of Public Education Expenditures in the United States*, American Council on Education, 1946.

[7]See *Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation*, by Rupert B. Vance, Southern Regional Council, 1946.

The percentages of Mississippi and New York income spent for education refer to total dollar income in those states. When we look into education expenditures in the Southern states in terms of the actual tax dollars received by the states we see how great an effort the South makes to provide schooling for its children. For instance, the State of Georgia in a recent year spent more than half (58 per cent) of every tax dollar for education; Kentucky spent 59 per cent and South Carolina 46 per cent. These states can hardly afford to divert more of their tax money to education, so the money that is needed must come from new sources.

Where such money is to come from has become a question of heated argument in the South in recent years because of the proposed "Federal aid to education." Many Southern congressmen and senators have consistently fought this legislation. They and other opponents have protested that it would open the way to Federal "dictatorship" of the Nation's schools and have also contended (foolishly and perhaps insincerely) that Federal aid to education would destroy racial segregation in Southern schools and that "Washington would force Southern white children to go to school with Negro children."

Those in favor of Federal aid to education have argued that, for the South at least, it is the only immediate answer to the problem; they point to the poor education of the Southern people and the South's inferior schools; they say the South hasn't enough income to do by itself what must be done and that the region not only needs but has a right to expect help from the Nation as a whole.

Federal education is a question that the people — not merely of the South, but of the entire Nation — must decide for themselves. But the argument that the South's education is exclusively the South's own affair does not hold up, for the problem of education in the region is a national as well as a Southern problem — although obviously the Southern people must take the lead in solving it.

As we have said before, the South, with 28.1 per cent of the nation's population, has 33 per cent of the Nation's school children. The education of these children is the rightful concern of the entire United States. For the South provides a large part of the nation's population increase — 30 per cent of the United States' population gain in the 1930's was produced in the 13 Southern states. Migration of Southerners to other parts of the country is fairly large, and these other regions have a right to expect that Southerners who migrate to their states have enough education and ability to contribute to the community. This same concern holds true for states within the South, too; for there is much migration from state to state inside the region. Nor

can city people within the South, who have fairly good school systems, afford to be indifferent to the problem of Southern rural education; for with the spread of the mechanical cotton picker more and more Southern farm workers are moving to the cities of the South to seek jobs in industry and business; this movement from farm to city will continue with increasing speed during the next ten years.[8] And the cities of the South must make certain that the people who come into their communities are educated for good citizenship and productive work.

So the problem of the South's education is the problem of every citizen of the United States.

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[8]See *Machines in the Cotton Fields,* by Arthur Raper, Southern Regional Council, 1946, pp. 17-20.

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THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL is a non-profit, non-denominational, non-political organization set up in February, 1944 to study the many problems of the South and to mobilize the people of the South to solve those problems. It is pro-democracy and pro-humanity. It is an outgrowth of the needs of the South, it is Southern in its make-up and its work.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL believes that the people of the South must take the lead in solving their own problems. SRC believes in the future of the South. It believes that the South can be prosperous and healthy, purged of poverty, hatred and fear. It believes that the South needs to broaden the narrow base of Democracy on which it stands if it is to go forward.

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